

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: EXCERPTS FROM ROWNY - SCHUKIN CONVERSATION
MAY 30, 1977 (SALT TWO-1198)

1. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS ARE EXCERPTS FROM A RECORD OF A
CONVERSATION ON 30 MAY 1977 BETWEEN LT. COL GEN. ROWNY AND
ACADEMICIAN SCHUKIN:

"SCHUKIN OPENED BY SAYING HE HOPED I WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT
REACHING A SALT II AGREEMENT. HE SAID HE WOULD NEVER CRIT-
ICIZE A SUPERIOR BUT THAT SPEAKING PERSONALLY HE HOPED I WOULD
NOT BE DISTRACTED BY WHAT THE HERALD TRIBUNE HAD PRINTED
TODAY QUOTING "VOICES AT ANOTHER LEVEL." I SAID I WAS SOME-
WHAT PUZZLED BY THE ARTICLES BECAUSE IN THE LEFT COLUMN I SAW
OPTIMISM AND IN THE COLUMN TO THE RIGHT OF IT PESSIMISM. I
ASKED SCHUKIN IF HE BELIEVED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER, IN SAYING
HE WAS SEEKING RECIPROCAL STABILITY, PARITY AND SECURITY COULD
BE INTERPRETED AS AIMING A UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES FOR THE UNITED
STATES. SCHUKIN REPEATED THAT HE WOULD NOT CRITICIZE A SUPERIOR.

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I SAID NEITHER WOULD I; THAT I WAS SIMPLY RESPONDING TO HIS
QUESTION AND TRYING TO UNDERSTAND WHAT WAS GOING ON. SCHUKIN
SAID TO REACH SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING ONE MUST GO BACK TO FUNDA-
MENTALS; ONE MUST UNDERSTAND THE GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND THE
CORRELATION OF FORCES.

SCHUKIN SAID THAT GEOGRAPHY AND THE STATE OF FORCES OF

BOTH SIDES, INCLUDING THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THIRD COUNTRIES, HAD BROUGHT US TO THE BALANCE REACHED AT VLADIVOSTOK. I SAID I WOULD NOT REPEAT MY COUNTER-ARGUMENTS THAT GEOGRAPHY AND THE STATE OF FORCES FAVORED THE SOVIETS BUT THAT THESE WERE ABSTRACTIONS. WHAT DID THEY TRANSLATE INTO IN CONCRETE TERMS?

SCHUKIN SAID THE EFFECTS OF THESE BASIC CONSIDERATIONS WAS THE US DRIVE TOWARD LARGE REDUCTIONS IN THE LEVELS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. IF SUCH FORCES WERE ALLOWED TO GET TOO SMALL, THE THIRD COUNTRIES WOULD BEGIN TO INFLUENCE THE SITUATION WHICH OUR TWO POWERS SHOULD CONTROL. HE SAID HE WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR HE WAS TALKING ABOUT THIRD COUNTRIES IN EUROPE AND NOT CHINA, THAT CHINA COULD BE FOR OUR PURPOSES BE CONSIDERED "NEUTRAL." I TOLD SCHUKIN I THOUGHT THE DEGREE OF REDUCTIONS HE WAS REFERRING TO WERE SO FAR IN THE FUTURE THE MATTER NEED NOT CONCERN US FOR SOME TIME TO COME.

I SAID THAT TO REDUCE ON BOTH SIDES WAS THE ESSENCE OF WHAT ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS WAS ALL ABOUT. THE REDUCTIONS WOULD IN THEMSELVES DEMONSTRATE A WILLINGNESS NOT TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF COMPETITION IN STRATEGIC WEAPONRY. FURTHER, THAT THE DEGREE OF REDUCTIONS WE WERE TALKING ABOUT, EVEN AT THE LEVELS IN OUR MOSCOW COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSAL, WOULD NOT LESSEN STABILITY BUT SELECTIVELY APPLIED COULD ENHANCE STABILITY.

SCHUKIN SAID THAT BY "SELECTIVELY APPLIED" HE COULD ONLY INTERPRET SOVIET ICBMS AND IN PARTICULAR THEIR HEAVY MISSILES. HE SAID THESE FORCES HAD BEEN CAREFULLY BALANCED AT THE TIME OF VLADIVOSTOK AND THAT FOR THE LIFE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT WE
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SHOULD NOT UPSET THE BALANCE. THIS DID NOT, HE SAID, RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME REDUCTIONS.

I ASKED SCHUKIN WHAT HE FELT WERE THE MAJOR OBSTACLES TO AN AGREEMENT. SCHUKIN SAID, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, THAT THE TWO MAJOR ISSUES WERE CRUISE MISSILES AND HEAVY ICBMS. CRUISE MISSILES NEEDED TIME TO BE SORTED OUT AND THE HEAVY ICBM ISSUE HAD ALREADY BEEN SORTED OUT AT VLADIVOSTOK. SCHUKIN SAID IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT NEITHER SIDE INTENDED TO USE STRATEGIC WEAPONS AGAINST THE OTHER, BUT THAT WHAT WAS AT STAKE WAS HOW THE TWO SIDES SAW THE NEW AGREEMENT AFFECTING THEIR OWN ATTITUDE, THE ATTITUDE OF THE OTHER, SIDE, AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE THIRD WORLD TOWARD THEM." EARLE

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